

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1174
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 HELSINKI 0643

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, FI, UR
SUBJECT: KOSYGIN VISIT TO FINLAND: ANALYSIS OF COMMUNIQUE

REF: (A) HELSINKI 0574, (B) 76 HELSINKI 1970

1. SUMMARY: OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON CONCLUSION OF ALEKSEY KOSYGIN VISIT CONTAINS NUMEROUS POLITICAL PROVISIONS IN ADDITION TO EXPECTED ECONOMIC PROVISIONS. THIS MESSAGE EXAMINES CONTENTS OF COMMUNIQUE, WHEN APPROPRIATE COMPARING PHRASEOLOGY WITH PREVIOUS COMMUNIQUE. IT IS PARTICULARLY NOTEWORTHY THAT COMMUNIQUE WORDING RE FINLAND'S "ENDEAVOR TO APPLY A PEACE-LOVING POLICY OF NEUTRALITY" IS UNCHANGED FROM FORMULATIONS USED IN PREVIOUS OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE OVER PAST SEVERAL YEARS. MEDIA HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT COMMUNIQUE HAS MAINTAINED UNCHANGED THE CONCEPT OF FINNISH NEUTRALITY WHICH HAS BEEN SEEN AS BEING UNDER SOME PRESSURE FROM SOVIET UNION AND FROM FINNISH COMMUNISTS. INFORMAL OFFICIAL REACTION HAS BEEN ONE OF ELATION AND SOME RELIEF. EMBASSY AGREES THAT THIS NEW REAFFIRMATION OF COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE USED IN PAST FEW YEARS CLEARS AIR AND IS WELCOME
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DEVELOPMENT. END SUMMARY

2. KOSYGIN VISIT HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN CONSIDERED AS ESSENTIALLY ECONOMIC IN PURPOSE. HOWEVER, AS VISIT GREW NEARER, AND AS INDICATIONS THAT CONCEPT OF FINNISH NEUTRALITY COMING UNDER SOME PRESSURE, FINNISH SOURCES INDICATED PRESIDENT KEKKONEN WOULD ATTEMPT OBTAIN COMMU-

NIQUE THAT INCLUDES POLITICAL PROVISIONS AS WELL, PARTICULARLY A PROVISION ON FINNISH NEUTRALITY. FINNISH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MFA) SPOKESMAN STATED PUBLICLY BEFORE KOSYGIN ARRIVED THAT POLITICAL QUESTIONS WOULD BE INCLUDED.

3. REFERENCE TO NEUTRALITY APPEARS IN PART OF COMMUNIQUE DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS AND READS AS FOLLOWS (UNOFFICIAL MFA ENGLISH TRANSLATION): QTE...THE BASIC COURSE OF FINLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY, THE PAASIKIVI-KEKKONEN LINE, WHICH BY VIRTUE OF THE FINNISH-SOVIET TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE ENSURES THE STEADFAST DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION IN RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, CONTAINS FINLAND'S ENDEAVOR TO APPLY A PEACE-LOVING POLICY OF NEUTRALITY FOR THE BENEFIT OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES. END QTE

4. THE WORDING IS EXACTLY SAME AS IN APRIL 7, 1973 JOINT FINNISH/SOVIET DECLARATION SIGNED BY KEKKONEN AND SOVIET PRES PODGORNYY ON OCCASION OF 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE (FCMA) BETWEEN FINLAND AND SOVIET UNION (QUOTED IN PARA 4 REF B). IN FACT, WHEREAS IN 1973 DECLARATION OF THE PROVISION WENT ON TO STATE THAT QTE IT IS CONFIRMED ON THE PART OF FINLAND THAT FINLAND IS NATURALLY NOT NEUTRAL IN QUESTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE BUT IS FOR PEACE AGAINST WAR END QTE, THIS LANGUAGE IS NOT RPT NOT INCLUDED IN THE NEW KOSYGIN/KEKKONEN COMMUNIQUE.

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5. LANGUAGE USED IN KOSYGIN/KEKKONEN COMMUNIQUE IS CONSISTENT WITH LANGUAGE USED SINCE 1971 ON SIMILAR OCCASIONS IN THAT SUCH COMMUNIQUE HAVE REFERRED TO FINLAND'S ENDEAVOR (OR DESIRE OR ASPIRATION) TO APPLY A PEACE-LOVING POLICY OF NEUTRALITY. COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN LATE 1960'S, HOWEVER, AND UPON KEKKONEN'S VISIT TO SOVIET UNION IN JULY 1970, USED A MORE DIRECT FORMULATION ABOUT FINLAND'S NEUTRALITY. OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE USED IN KEKKONEN'S 1970 VISIT STATED INTER ALIA QTE BOTH PARTIES HAVE AGAIN NOED THAT FINLAND'S PEACE-LOVING POLICY OF NEUTRALITY AND THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS IT MAINTAINS WITH ALL COUNTRIES..END QTE. THUS, LANGUAGE OF NEW COMMUNIQUE REAFFIRMS FORMULATIONS USED IN RECENT YEARS WITHOUT, HOWEVER, RETURNING TO THE MORE DIRECT REFERENCE TO FINNISH NEUTRALITY USED IN EARLIER PERIOD.

6. 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND FINNISH INDEPENDENCE -- TURNING TO OTHER ASPECTS OF COMMUNIQUE,

IT REFERS TO THESE TWO ANNIVERSARIES AND TO HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LENIN SIGNING DECREE RECOGNIZING FINLAND AS INDEPENDENT STATE. WHILE TWO ANNIVERSARIES LINKED IN SAME PARA, NO MENTION MADE OF JOINT CELEGRATION. AT LEAST ONCE PREVIOUSLY (IN 1972 COMMUNIQUE FOLLOWING KEKKONEN TRIP) SOVIET ANNIVERSARY, LENIN AND FINNISH INDEPENDENCE DISCUSSED TOGETHER.

7. FINNISH/SOVIET ECONOMIC RELATIONS -- ECONOMIC BILATERAL RELATIONS GIVEN MUCH HEAVIER EMPHASIS THAN IN PREVIOUS COMMUNIQUES, PARTICULARLY THE PROSPECTS FOR COOPERATION ON CONSTRUCTION AND INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS, 15-YEAR COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT , AND LONG-TERM ECONOMIC COOPERATION. EMPHASIS ON THESE QUESTIONS REFLECTS PERHAPS THE ORIGINAL ECONOMIC EMPHASIS APPARENTLY INTENDED FOR KOSYGIN'S VISIT.

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8. 1948 FCMA TREATY -- GIVEN USUAL HEAVY EMPHASIS AS EXAMPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND IN SPIRIT OF PREVAILING CIRCUMSTANCES OF DETENTE IN EUROPE.

9. CSCE FOLLOW-UP -- A SHARP CHANGE OF EMPHASIS CAN BE NOTED ON THIS POINT BETWEEN THIS AND PREVIOUS COMMUNIQUES. 1976 COMMUNIQUES FOLLOWING KEKKONEN AND THEN FONMIN SORSA VISITS TO USSR STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF CONSISTENT REALIZA-

TION AND CONCRETIZATION OF EXACT AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF PRINCIPLES AND PROVISIONS APPROVED IN FINAL ACT OF CSCE. PRESENT COMMUNIQUE STATES THAT THEY WILL ENDEAVOR QTE MAKE BELGRADE MEETING A FAVORABLE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS SERVING DEEPENING OF DETENTE AND PROMOTING THUS CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE, SECURITY AND COOPERATION...CONFERENCE IS NOT ONLY TO MADE A SUMMARY OF WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN ACHIEVED BUT SHOULD ALSO BE DIRECTED TOWARDS THE FUTURE SO AS TO PROMOTE THE INTERESTS OF THE DEEPENING OF DETENTE ACCORDING TO THE FINAL ACT OF THE CSCE AND ITS GOALS.
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END QTE

10. BREZHNEV PAN EUROPEAN CONFERENCES PROPOSALS -- INCREASED EMPHASIS GIVEN THESE PROPOSALS, BUT CALLS ONLY FOR CONTINUING IN CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT, ALSO DURING 32ND ECE SESSION, EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS. STOPS SHORT OF ENDORSEMENT.

11. BALTIC COOPERATION-- LANGUAGE ON BALTIC COOPERATION WAS CONTAINED IN 1973 COMMUNIQUE AND GIVEN INCREASED EMPHASIS IN 1976 SORSA VISIT TO USSR. THAT INCREASED EMPHASIS MAINTAINED IN CURRENT COMMUNIQUE, WHICH REFERS TO STRENGTHENING OF PEACEFUL RELATIONS AND THE PROMOTION OF PRACTICAL COOPERATION ON MULTILATERAL BASIS BETWEEN THE STATES IN THIS AREA.

12. NORDIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE -- AS IN RECENT COMMUNIQUE, REFERENCE HERE IS TO FINNISH PROPOSAL AS BEING BOTH IMPORTANT AND ACTUAL (TIMELY).

13. DISARMAMENT -- UN FORTHCOMING SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT REFERRED TO AS IMPORTANT STEP TOWARDS WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

14. MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE -- REFERRED TO SPECIFICALLY FOR FIRST TIME IN FINNISH/SOVIET COMMUNIQUE; IT TERMED AS ESSENTIAL.

15. WARSAW PACT NON-NUCLEAR USE PROPOSAL -- REFERRED TO FOR FIRST TIME IN FINNISH/SOVIET COMMUNIQUE. PARTIES EXPRESSED HOPE PROPOSAL WOULD BE CONSIDERED IN CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT.

16. NUCLEAR TESTING AND PROLIFERATION -- SUBSTANTIALLY UPGRADED AND MORE SPECIFIC ATTENTION GIVEN TO THIS, DISARMAMENT, AND RELATED MATTERS, INCLUDING BANNING OF
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TESTING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AGREEMENTS ON BANNING CHEMICAL WEAPONS, CONSTRUCTION OF NEW WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, BRINGING INTO FORCE OF ENMOD TREATY, RENUNCIATION OF FIRST USE OF FORCE, STRENGTHENING OF CONTROLS PREVENTING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, ETC.

17. MIDDLE EAST -- THIS TOPIC IS THE ONLY ONE ADDRESSED IN COMMUNIQUE AFTER SENTENCE REFERRING TO "EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS." FORMULATION WAS SIMILAR TO RECENT COMMUNIQUES: CALLS FOR ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967; FULFILLMENT OF LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS, INCLUDING RIGHT TO NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION (LITERAL TRANSLATION FROM FINNISH READS: FORM A STATE); RIGHTS OF ALL STATES OF MIDDLE EAST TO POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND DEVELOPMENT; CONVENING OF GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE, INCLUDING PARTICIPATION OF PLO.

18. COMMUNIQUE CLOSES BY EMPHASIZING SIGNIFICANCE OF COMING OFFICIAL VISIT OF KEKKONEN TO USSR.

19. COMMUNIQUE CONTAINED NO REFERENCE TO RECENT ATTENTION GIVEN IN FINLAND TO PRESENCE OF FRG TROOPS IN NATO EXERCISES IN NORWAY.

20. MEDIA REACTION TO COMMUNIQUE WAS UNANIMOUSLY FAVORABLE; EACH NEWSPAPER IN ITS OWN WAY COMMENTED THAT COMMUNIQUE PROVIDES PROOF OF CONTINUITY IN FINNISH/ SOVIET RELATIONS, INCLUDING FINNISH NEUTRALITY, AND CONTRASTED OUTCOME WITH DOUBTS CONCERNING FINNISH NEUTRALITY RAISED IN RECENT MONTHS.

21. COMMENT: MFA OFFICIAL TOLD EMBOFF THAT FINNS HAD EXPECTED LARGELY ECONOMIC FOCUS ON VISIT AND COMMUNIQUE BUT AT SOVIET INITIATIVE POLITICAL QUESTIONS STRESSED IN COMMUNIQUE. EMBASSY IS SKEPTICAL ABOUT THIS

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INTERPRETATION SINCE EARLIER INDICATIONS HAD BEEN THAT GOF MOST ANXIOUS TO HAVE POLITICAL MATTERS, PARTICULARLY NEUTRALITY QUESTION, INCLUDED IN COMMUNIQUE. THE MFA INTERPRETATION SEEMS DESIGNED TO FORWARD IMPRESSION THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN USSR AND FINLAND OVER FINNISH NEUTRALITY. NEVERTHELESS, REACTION OF GOF OFFICIALS HAS BEEN ONE OF GREAT SATISFACTION WITH COMMUNIQUE. EMBASSY CONCURS THAT FINLAND HAS EVERY REASON

TO BE MOST SATISFIED. IN LIGHT OF RECENT UNCERTAINTIES,
FINAL COMMUNIQUE IS A SUBSTANTIAL ACHIEVEMENT FOR FINLAND
AND PRES KEKKONEN IN OBTAINING REAFFIRMATION OF FINLAND'S
QTE ENDEAVOR TO APPLY A PEACE-LOVING POLICY OF NEUTRALITY
END QTE. GIVEN FINLAND'S GEO-POLITICAL SITUATION, HOWEVER,
THE ENDEAVOR REMAINS PRECISELY THAT: A STRIVING TO
ACHIEVE GOAL OF THE APPLICATION OF A NEUTRAL POLICY AND
TO AVOID ANY WEAKENING OF CURRENT DEGREE OF NEUTRALITY.
QUESTION ALSO REMAINS ON VIABILITY OF FINNISH
NEUTRALITY, PARTICULARLY IN PERIOD OF INTERNATIONAL CRISIS
OR THREAT OF WAR.
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